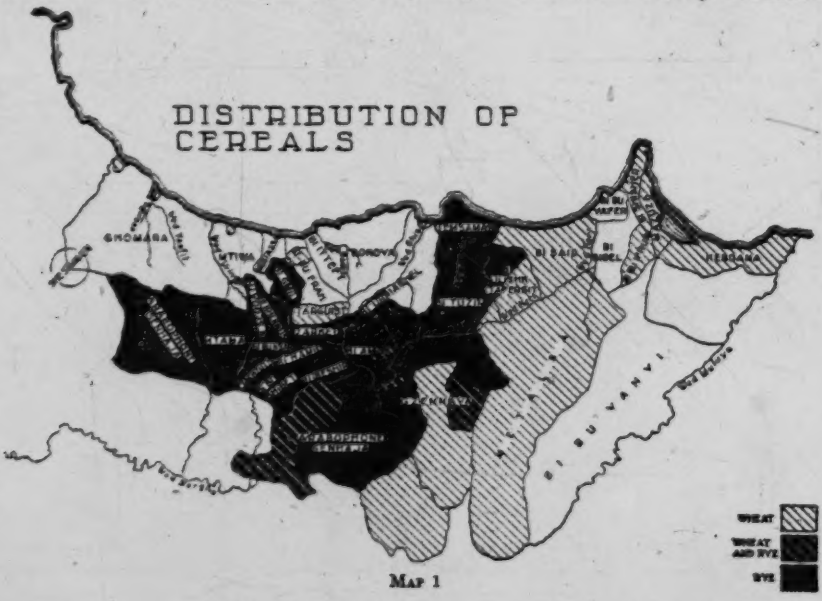
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 it when guests are present. It is another of the innocuous things of which they are curiously ashamed.

imindhi, barley, is the universal grain, being grown everywhere except in Taghsuth. It is grown on irrigable plough-land, in the regions where irrigation is practised.

erden, wheat, is found only in the east, in the lowlands, and in flat plateau country, notably at Bured and Targuist, where it has recently been introduced. The mountain farmers consider wheat extravagant and low in food value, while the lowlanders think it the only aristocratic cereal. The distribution map for rye and wheat shows clearly the relative



MAP 1

ranges of these cereals, both being largely regulated by environmental zones. I have not depicted the range of barley, since it is found wherever grain is grown except in Taghsuth.

er ḥortar, oats, are not cultivated in the Rif, but grow wild, and are sometimes gathered and eaten.

243 *shasana* is a leguminous plant resembling vetch, the English name of which, if any exists,
● 252 I do not know.[1] It is grown in the same manner as peas and lentils. These leguminous plants are considered by the Riffians to belong with grains rather than with vegetables, hence I have followed the native usage in considering them in this place. *Shasana* is said to be poisonous when eaten without treatment. Like acorns, the *shasana* is placed in a basketry container and allowed to rest in the bottom of a stream, weighted down with stones,

[1] Specimens brought to the Harvard Botany Department are being studied.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [252]

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifin, peas, *ibouen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

241 805 T93

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it woud be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

241 805

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 portion of Beni Bu Yahyi, where no agriculture is practised, and parts of Ktama, where wheat and barley are not or cannot be grown.

252 [376] *thasath n waman*, the turbine grain mill. This type of mill, a complicated mechanical invention, consists of a small house built over a dam or over the end of a high-flowing irrigation ditch, a turbine wheel with tilted paddle-shaped blades set into a thick terminal hub, a circular stone attached to the upper end of the turbine shaft inside of the house and resting on the nether stone, and a hopper hanging above the stone with a feed-slot jiggled by the upper stone so as to insure the flow of grain from the hopper. The hole in the upper stone

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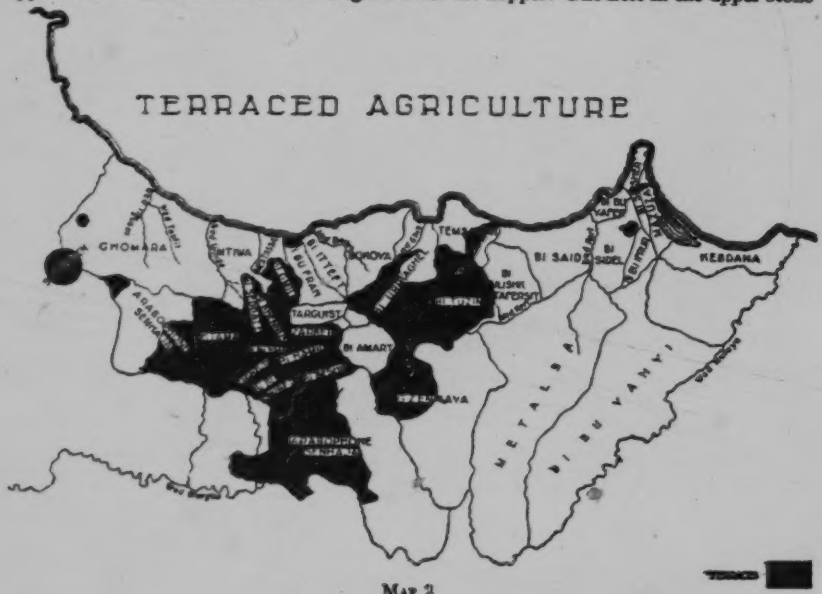


MAP 2

into which the shaft is set is off-centre, and the upper part of the shaft is bent to allow for this, so that the upper stone turns fairly evenly on its axis, while a second hole, drilled through the exact centre of the upper stone, does not deviate from the centre and allows the grain falling from the hopper to be ground between the two stones. The lower stone is larger than the upper and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken only in one place, so that the flour may be extracted from the gap in the rim. This type of mill seems to be concentrated at Taghzuth, where many of them are in constant use. There are several in Beni Bu Nsar and five or six in Beni Aissi of Ktama; there was formerly one in Wed Iherrushen of the Gaennaya; and there are about ten at Ajdir. At Fez many of these mills are in use, and they are also found in the Atlas, particularly at Zerekten.[1]

[1] For a detailed description of this type of mill consult Laoust, pp. 36–43, and Baron Nopcsa's *Beuten, Truchten, Gerät Nordalbanien*, pp. 131–134.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 *thasath*, the ordinary hand mill, consists of two stones, an upper and a nether, as in the water mill (singular *agharf*, plural *igharfawn*). The upper is set crookedly on an axis fastened into the lower, and a hole through the middle receives the grain poured into it by hand. The upper stone is rotated by a wooden handle set in its side. This hand mill is distributed throughout Morocco and the Mediterranean area in general.

thahont, the olive grinder, is made of a concave platform, circular in shape, about six to eight feet in diameter, and two or three feet high, its surface covered when possible with slabs of slate. In the middle of it is set an upright pole, which rotates in its socket. Through the pole is set a log handle, which goes through a millstone set on edge and reaches several feet over the lip of the platform. Olives are put in the platform, and the wheelstone is turned by men or animals pushing or pulling on the handle. (See plate 12.)

azekor, the oil press, is the second machine necessary in the manufacture of olive oil. The mashed pulp of the olives, taken out of the grinder, is put in low circular baskets with constricted necks. These are then pressed in a machine constructed as follows. A heavy log is set at one end into the side of a hill or into a pile of rocks, so that it is pivoted rather than firmly attached. The other end, upheld by a wooden screw, is prevented from slipping sidewise by two upright logs set in the ground as guides. The screw, equipped with a handle, does not mesh directly with the heavy log, since if it did so the change in the direction of the log during the descent would jam and possibly break the screw. For this reason the screw passes through a large hole in the log and meshes with a smaller piece of hard wood, pegged, with considerable allowance for play, to the log beneath it. The descent of the heavy log is thus regulated by the turning of the screw: if it is turned one way, the log descends; if the other, the log rises. A block of wood is placed between the screw and the fulcrum of the lever, so as to get the maximum pressure. Under the log are set superimposed baskets of olive mash, and the block thus serves to transmit the weight of the log to the baskets. As the log is screwed down, the oil is squeezed out of the mash and flows through the meshes of the baskets, to fall into a wooden or pottery container at the foot of the stone on which the baskets are set. The parts of the oil press are as follows:

thahont, the olive-crushing machine, complete, also the stone wheel.
amghir, the sticks in it, both the upright axis and the horizontal handle.
er hawuth, the grinding table.
azekor the pressing machine, entire, also the log weight above.
azthi, the screw.
aharush, the log which transmits the pressure from the weight to the baskets, so-called from its resemblance to a mortar.

The olive press, including both component machines, is found in every tribe excepting Mtalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. In the Branes and Marnissa is found a variant type of press, in which there are two screws, and the weight-log, the *azekor*, is not heavy, the machine thus depending for its pressure upon the constriction of the screws, which are operated from above.[1]

312 *targa*, the irrigation ditch. (See plate 9.) Irrigation ditches are led from springs and streams along the sides of valleys at a slope less than that of the streams themselves. Their

[1] Laoust pp. 451–460 describes the variant forms of this machinery in other parts of Morocco. Baron Nopcsa (p. 157) also gives a description of the same thing in Albania. Like the turbine mill, this apparatus enjoys a wide distribution in the Mediterranean area.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252

Thakont of Ikarsen, Gaennaya, showing grinding table clearly

Crushing olives with *thakont*, Tezarin, Taghzuth

Pressing out oil with the *azekor*, Tezarin, Taghzuth

Closer view of same *azekor*

[facing p. 54]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 312 day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

241 735 476 At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathis* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

241 735 All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

252 471 Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

252 794

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.

[873]

3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.

[778]

4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who
[135] has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

241 Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity,
465 there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

241 When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it
427 out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

241 The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his
166 home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

241 Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of
[556] society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

[558] Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

252 The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

1? Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

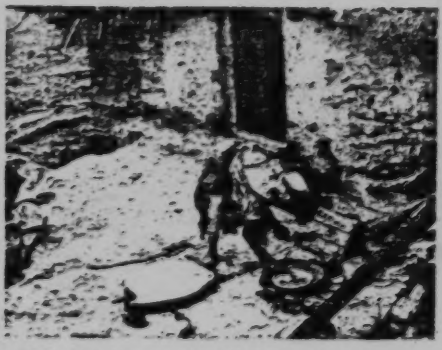
FOOD PREPARATION 1

252

Preparing flour for bread-making. Teririn, Taghauth

Grinding flour in a hand-mill, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[354]



Frying bread in an earthen skillet, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Typical bake-oven, Ulad Abekar, Taghauth

[p. 56 (a)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

[p. 56(8)]

[372]

Choosing a fat goat for supper, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Broiling goat-meat *kebabs* over a brasier

Eating the *kebabs*

Chopping up *kif*, Tiguisas, Ghomara

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

milk products, and (8) intoxicants and narcotics. To these topics may be added that of table manners.

Cereal Preparations antedating Bread. In Procopius we are told that the chief food of the mountain Berbers of Algeria consisted of roasted grains, eaten as such and without being made into bread;[1] and early accounts of the Canary Islands describe the Guanches as eating habitually a food called *gofio*, made from roasted barley.[2] This type of food, which the Riffians believe to have antedated bread, is still eaten in the more remote mountain sections of the Rif and Senhaja. The various kinds of food so prepared are as follows:

zimbu, barley or maize, is roasted in an oven or pan, ground in a stone mill (see plate 13), mixed with melted butter, and rolled into balls. These balls of *zimbu* are given children as a delicacy or as a snack between meals. They are likewise taken into battle as emergency rations and carried on long journeys.

tha' asat is maize roasted in the same way as is *zimbu*, then mixed with raisins and either almonds or walnuts, depending on which sex is to eat it. The whole is put into a grain pestle and crushed and mixed together; melted butter is poured through it, and the compressed cake taken out of the pestle and allowed to dry, a process during which it becomes very hard. This makes a compact lasting food, eminently suited for pilgrimages and other long journeys and for war. The maize used in *zimbu* and *tha'asat* is especially chosen so that in roasting it will burst open (like American popcorn).

imshiken, rye, is boiled in water until thoroughly cooked and swollen, then the water is drained off, butter is added, and the dish is ready to eat. It closely resembles oatmeal porridge and other cooked cereals commonly eaten in this country.

thighwawin, barley, is roasted, then husked in a pestle until the skins come off. It is eaten dry in time of war or of great emergency.

iuwzan, barley, is broken coarsely so that four or five pieces result from each grain. It is thrown into a pot of boiling water and cooked until swollen, then eaten with a spoon, like boiled rice.

These primitive methods of preparing grains for consumption are restricted to-day to a limited area, although traditionally all the inhabitants of the region formerly employed them. They are always found in association as a definite complex in the mountain sections of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Iherrassen of the Gzennaya, all of the Senhaja Sghir, and the Western Arabophone Sehaja.

Bread and Breadmaking. *agharum*, bread, is made from an incredibly large number of different materials. These are wheat, barley, rye, wild oats, maize in combination with some other cereal, durra (of recent introduction), acorns, dried *sasanu* and barley flour, *iyarni*, a wild tuber, *kirsana*, *ashtar*, another wild tuber, and the seeds from the pod of the *tuzelt*. There is a tradition, probably unfounded, that the ground pits of olives left after pressing are also utilized.

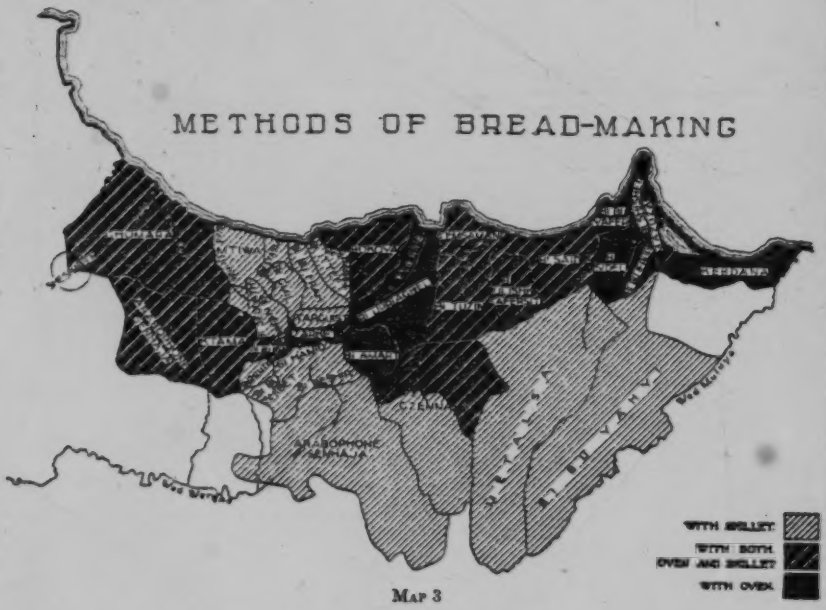
The grain is usually ground fresh for each baking. The first process is to mix warm water with the yeasty dough left over from the previous day's baking. Yeast is kept by holding over a bit of dough each day and mixing it in this way. If one's yeast gives out, a neighbor will supply more. Few housewives attempt to start yeast, which is considered a very difficult task. It is said that it can be done, however, by using the mother from vinegar,

[1] Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13.
[2] E. A. Hooton, *The Early Inhabitants of the Canary Islands*, p. 69.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and lemon juice. After the yeasty dough has been thoroughly diluted in warm water, flour is mixed in, and the resultant dough patted into disc-like loaves. These are piled one on top of the other and allowed to rise until the bubbles start bursting open, and then are thrust into a hot oven, from which the glowing embers of a hot juniper or other brush fire have just been drawn.

The Riffians say that the women of the Senhaja Sghir do not allow their bread to rise as long as do Riffian women, and that the resultant product is not as good. Personally, I found the bread in both places excellent.



Map 3

It is said that nineteen or twenty loaves of bread can be made from a *mudd* of barley, twenty-four from a *mudd* of wheat, and thirty-two from a *mudd* of rye. In this way rye, although it reproduces less grain than the others, compensates in the final product. A *mudd* is a common Moroccan measure.[1]

Bread is highly prized, due to its scarcity, in the Senhaja Sghir, and in Ktama is eaten only on memorable occasions. Although the usual shape of bread in the Rif, as well as in all Morocco, is discoidal, the Galiya and Kebdana women make long narrow loaves, like French bread. Besides the ordinary bread which has just been described, several types of unleavened bread and pancakes are commonly made:

aftheir, dough, is prepared without yeast, and fried on an earthen skillet.

[1] See p. 113, n. 2.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

ḥarīṭa, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *ḥarīṭa* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *nkhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imedurar of Gsennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *thamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the march or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbejuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbejuth mizirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guas*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guas* may be purely vegetable or may

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Fish is never boiled or prepared in any way other than those above named. It is never eaten during a meal at which milk is drunk.

262 **Eggs.** These are most commonly eaten hard boiled, a number of them in a bowl of melted butter constituting a common dish. They are also made into omelettes, but this latter method is rare and is probably of recent introduction. They are never mixed in bread or in any other composite dish.

262 **Milk and Milk Products.** Milk is consumed in a number of different ways. It may 234 be drunk fresh, as it commonly is, especially among the mountain peoples, or may be left to

MAP 4

curdle. The curds, called *aghin*, are drunk out of a communal pot. Butter, called *adhen*, is made by two methods: (1) In the Rif, except in the region of nomadism, cream is put into an earthen pot with a narrow neck and a spout and two handles. Leather lids are tied over the neck and spout, and the pot tied to the rafters by the handles. Here it is swung back and forth until the butter is ready. (2) Among the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi the cream is put into a goatskin, which is tied tight and swung from a wooden tripod until churning is completed.

el kleila (Arabic), cheese, is made only by the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is commonly produced in the form of flat, hard cakes. Being cheese makers, the nomads naturally know the properties of rennet, which they cut from the stomachs of calves; with this and fresh milk they make junket, *jeben*, which they feed to children. The sedentary peoples,

776 921 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

[253] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the 784 wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule 233 that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti). [254] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal[1] is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[1 i.e. - sacrificial. - Analyst]

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 354 171 [252] seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

372 314 171 Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and ll available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of [482] the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal [492] to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

342 313 171 Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

[139] Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) [174] is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

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[113] [372] [354] [171] [113] most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Edieiones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.